3: Watson E-4,5 (1943) 1952 SM4 Guarani SM4

465 The goods with which the Cayuá is remunerated for his work for Brazilians
648 are usually white trade goods, or less commonly money, and it is for trade
464 goods that he actually works. There would be little sense, of course, in working
• 511 for things which he himself also produces in agriculture. The few individuals who "specialize" in wage work as a result of this modern alternative, *changa*, are usually long on white trade goods and short on the food crops produced in the Cayuá *kokwé*. Such a man may have, in Cayuá terms, a good machete, a hoe, and an axe, and good clothes on his own back and for his wife and children. He perhaps even owns a pig (which, of course, he has no means of feeding properly), or a horse, and probably has other things of value he has received from his *patrão*. This same individual may also have the poorest *kokwé* in the village and hence will have scant to eat oftentimes, although he is otherwise
[438] much better situated than his fellows. One cannot readily barter the white trade goods for sufficient food, either with the Brazilians or with other Cayuá. The "market" is not yet that flexible; the various goods are not freely convertible in terms of each other or of money. Moreover, *changa* is usually inefficient from this point of view, although few Cayuá seem to realize it. They are often cheated by the Brazilians, or paid poorly for their work when no
[466] literal cheating takes place. They are commonly charged for their "board," that is, for the meager fare they receive from the *patrão* while staying on his property for several days' work. Frequently much of what the *peão* earns he is encouraged to consume in the form of cheap *aguardente*. This, of course,
*177 costs the Cayuá considerably more than it originally cost the settler.[272]
464 A sort of *changa* or working for hire is now occurring on a limited scale
465 among the Cayuá themselves. This new development suggests the manner in which modern commercial modes of thought and behavior may invade a culture with a primitive economy, and shows how far this has taken place at Taquapiri. For example, one Cayuá merely agrees to pay another so much in cloth, or whatever it may be (usually white trade goods), in exchange for hoeing a certain area or planting so much manioc. A single informant was able to mention four or five different instances of this arrangement with which he was acquainted, and he knew the terms of two of them. Interestingly enough, the kinship of this "internal *changa*" to its Neo-Brazilian model is even borne out in the Cayuá allusion to the arrangement as "*changa*" and their joking references to the Indian employer as a "*patrão*." The scale of pay seems to be about the same as that prevailing outside the village with Neo-Brazilians, but one informant said that he would prefer to work for settlers because the pay was better.[273]

[273] [272] The desire for alcohol seems to be an active factor in the excessive work in *changa* of at least one Cayuá at Taquapiri. Selling alcoholic beverages to Indians is said to be a Brazilian federal offense.

[273] One case of bad faith was observed in which the Cayuá "patrão" paid his worker in ad-

[Francisco Horta]

/97 cont./ But if we were to compare the Terêna and the Kaiwá populations in Francisco Horta, the latter would leave much to be desired in terms of economic development. Actually the difference is quite real; the Terêna families exhibit an adequate standard of living, based on good farm plots and regular trade with Dourados, aside from well-built houses similar to the neo-Brazilian dwellings in the region; whereas the Kaiwá look quite poor, tattered and with an agricultural production that is hardly enough for their own consumption, compelling them to hire themselves out for the maté industry or any other work on the fazendas of the region.

To close this chapter, in which we endeavored to analyze from an ecological standpoint the present configuration and distribution of the Terêna local groups, we can say that all the communities studied are characterized by being turned toward the outside: not only through the fact that the Terêna try to place all of their production on the regional market (leaving a small part for their own consumption), but also, and principally, through their being hired by the fazendas, where they find their principal source of income. We have seen in this brief analysis how rare are the /98/ cases of self-sufficient Terêna families, understanding by this the fact that they are not obliged to work outside their own lands for their survival. Nearly all of the useful population (from 20 to 50 years of age) is connected with the regional labor market, although as a mobile group. This permits us to state that here is a phenomenon of economic integration of the highest degree, when we compare the Terêna with other tribal groups that are also "integrated into Brazilian society," (156) but not necessarily assimilated by it

156. We use the concept of "integrated" to characterize the end situation of a continuum at the opposite extreme of which are the "isolated"

[Text continues on p. 142]